614 The clan (umulyango) (4) or inzu includes all those who claim

4. Not to be confused with umúlyango, "door."

a common ancestor who is founder of the [9] race. In the course of time the clan has become divided into several subclans (imilyango).

The clan and the subclan have names (ubgoko) that recall the name of the founder. Thus the members of the umulyango of the Abanyiginya are the descendants of Kimanuka who is the Umunyiginya (the first of the Abanyiginya). Ndabarasa, son of the Mwami Rujugira Chyirima, who became king under the name of Kigeri, was the Umurabarasa, the first of the umulyango of the Abarabarasa or Ibigina. This last name is what they are called at the present time.

614 Each umulyango possesses one or several animal totems
●775 (ibiziro). For example, the totems of the Abanyiginya are the crested crane (umusambi) and the ox-pecker (inyange); that of the Abega is the toad (igikeri); that of the Abagessera is the wagtail (inyamanza). The member of a clan will never kill such a bird, for example, because he believes that it contains the spirit of an ancestor.

614 The Bahutu belong to the same umulyango as the Batutsi and
563 possess the same totems. However, they have a different name. For example, those who live with the Abega and the Abanyiginya are called respectively Abasavere and Abasindi.

2. The Head of the Family and of the Clan

596 The head of the family sensu stricto (umutware w'urago rwa se, lit., the head of his father's rugo) is normally the father. After his death, one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, succeeds him. It may happen that the widow of the family head provisionally directs the rugo if her husband has died without designating his successor or when his sons are still children (1). [10]

614 1. While still forming part of her [own] umulyango, the wife is, so to speak, incorporated into her husband's inzu if she has children. But she does not take the name of her husband's umulyango. The

643 [551] Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi, for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people. He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.

643 644 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's [608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the [551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

614 the common totem. After separating, the clans took different names. Among the Bahima and Bahutu of East Africa, unlike the North American Indians, the totem name was not used as the name of the clan itself, but rather, as among the Australian aborigines, the names of the clan and the totem are different. However, the totem cult and its membership have been preserved even though in diluted form (cf. No. 43, pp. 142-143). In a few individual cases the names of the kin groups are identical with that of their totem, as among the Basoga, Basiba, and Banjoro, while the kin groups of the Baganda are named, without exception, after their totem (No. 49, p. 155).

Both in Urundi and in Ruanda the totem (umusiru) is still the cult object of the clan or the clan group, even if only in a passive or negative sense, in that everything connected with the totem must be strictly avoided by its clan. There is no active cult devoted to the totem either among the Barundi or among any other Bahima people (cf. also No. 47, pp. 133, 134 and No. 49, pp. 145, 147). Sacrificial offerings are occasionally made to them but that is all. Among most Rundi clans the totem is an animal or part of an animal. Much more rarely it is an object, as, for example, the small pillow with which burdens are carried on the head or the basket in which sweet potatoes are stored, even more rarely plants or parts of plants, flowers, and stones. The definite predominance of animal
614 totemism is probably related, as among all peoples organized
● 775 by totems, to the idea that the totem animal was originally
171 considered the "ancestral animal." Among the Barundi and Banjaruanda, however, this does not appear to indicate that the particular species of animals is regarded as the founder of the race or the tribal ancestor or ancestress of the particular clan, but rather that the soul of each clan member after his death enters an animal of this particular type. Evidently the belief in a relationship between the human kin group and the totem animal species does not include the concept of common descent from the same ancestral animal. Whenever a member of the kin group dies, this relationship is renewed by his soul entering an

614 775 171 animal of his totem species. In Central Africa many tribes of the northern Congo basin and of the western Sudan (No. 49, pp. 140-142) have the same belief.

614 Van der Burgt believes that the royal family of the Barundi has no totem (letter). According to other reports, however, their totem animal is probably the large python (see p. 118) which is also the "soul animal" of the kings; this also applies to the Basiba (No. 31, pp. 107, 130) and to the Baganda (No. 30, Vol. II, p. 500). According to the belief of the Banjankole, the souls of the kings enter into lions, those of the princes into snakes (No. 26, p. 151; No. 27, p. 102); among the Banjaruanda the souls of the kings enter into leopards."

[103] Thus, the belief in a relationship between clan members and the totem animal is one of the roots of totemism; the other is the same kind of animism that gives rise to awe and fear of the spirit of a dead person living in an animal or some other object and, in connection with this, brings about the cult of ancestors (cf. No. 49, p. 169). For this reason the totem animals are identical with the "soul animals" which are generally assumed to be the residence of human souls (see p. 118). In this case, too, these are characteristically animals, those which excel in great speed and agility and, thus, are suggestive of the vital breath, as, for example, the snake, lizard, certain fish and birds, the otter, weasel, duikerbok, long-tailed monkey, or those animals which have a sinister appearance or other terrifying characteristics, as, for example, the chameleon, the insect walking stick, leopard, buffalo, and hippopotamus. However, certain kinds of domestic animals, for example, black, white striped, or otherwise mottled cows or certain varieties of sheep may be chosen as totem animals by many clans. The veneration of cattle, which are neither used for work nor ordinarily butchered, would indicate that they were formerly the cult animal of the Bahima herdsmen, which to some extent is still true today. Some clans designate only liver, heart, and intestines of certain animals as totems. This custom is also found among many other Bahima and Bantu tribes. This is

561 group" as is found among several East African tribes. Is such a social institution does exist among the Barundi, it plays no role in public life. Nor are there special bachelors' huts or kraals for such an age group, while among other Hamitic peoples of East Africa -- or peoples under Hamitic influence -- for example, the Massai, the Wapokomo [Pokome], and the Galla, these age groups constitute the principal structure of the entire social life.

Among the Massai there are three age groups: the boys living with their parents, the unmarried youths (of the warrior caste) who live together in their own kraals, and the peaceful married men. Similarly among the Wapokomo and the Galla there are: first, the boys; second, the various age groups of those who have been circumcised at the same time, or Luva; and third, the class of the older men, or Gada. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 262 ff.) In Ruanda the youthful band of warriors which usually appears at the court of Musinga for festive occasions and performs war dances might suggest that such an "age group" of unmarried youths exists among the Batussi, but perhaps they are only a kind of cadet or page corps of the king (see p. 65).

888 ●775 Old persons who have lost their physical and mental agility are seldom seen since they remain within the homesteads. Their next of kin take care of them until their death (ukufa), perhaps less for reasons of piety than for fear that if they treated them badly they might take revenge after their death as spirits. 763 When a person is dying his family usually gathers around him. Immediately after death, the women in the house and the neighborhood raise a loud and plaintive wailing while the men close the eyes of the deceased, bend his arms and legs, and tie him up (in a crouched position) so as to prevent him or his spirit from returning. Preparations are immediately made for the burial.

764 171 Burial in a crouched position is also the custom in Ankole, Mpororó, Ufipa, and in other Bahima states, also among the

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
● 775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed.
766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place and
769 that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132, 140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

774 787 something which is alive, which does not rest but thinks, sees, and moves about. In a dream this incorporeal part of us sees the world not merely as a person who is awake does, but it also meets the dead who thus continue to exist incorporeally after death. If this immaterial element, the life-generating soul, permanently leaves the body, the human being dies.

774 The distinction between the body or shadow soul and the breath soul which W. Wundt and C. Meinhof considered characteristic of totemistic conceptions (No. 43, p. 203; No. 41, pp. 32-34) apparently fits [118] the notions of the Barundi, for the Murundi clearly distinguishes between the spirit of a dead person, the umusimu, and the soul active within a living person, the umutima, which is destroyed at the moment of death along with the pulsating heart, the indihagusi (No. 46, p. 15). It further seems certain to me that the Barundi conceive of all things, organic or inorganic, as being endowed with souls; this does not only apply to persons and animals but also to plants, stones, stars, fire, fountains, rivers, etc. These are not simply regarded as the occasional residences of former human and animal souls but as having souls of their own. Thus, the thorny bush which scratches the hunter and makes him bleed does so not only because it is the abode of what formerly was a malicious human soul but because it has a malicious "bush soul" of its own. The fountain refreshes the thirsty traveler not because, or not only because in it resides the spirit of what was formerly a generous person but because it has its own generous "fountain soul."

● 775 Umusimu is not only the term for the spirit of the deceased but also for the object or the animal which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as its residence; there may be various ones. Frequently these are small oblong pebbles (inguru) from the fields of the deceased. These pebbles are collected by the next of kin and put into a wooden trough which is placed inside the sacrificial hut where a beer sacrifice is made to them (No. 46, p. 16). Often the soul of a dead person also resides in an object close to his former dwelling, in a tree, fence, or rock, often also in an animal which by its nimble

775 agility conjures up the idea of the breath-like fleetingness of the soul, especially in snakes, lizards, and birds and also in unpleasant animals like toads, crocodiles, hyenas, and others. Apparently the members of certain clans all turn into specific animals, the totem animal (umusiru) of the clan (see p. 102). In general the first worm leaving the decaying corpse of a person is regarded as the vehicle of his soul until it has choosen another definite residence. As mentioned on p. 115, the first worm leaving the corpse of a king is therefore fed with milk until it turns into a large python who is worshipped as a god. The souls of great batwale turn into other snakes, lions, and leopards, who then reside in the holy groves (imana) near the graves. From there the snakes often visit the huts of the family and the mother of the family regards them as soul animals of the deceased family members and feeds them milk. The same [171] is true of the Galla, the Massai, and the Kaffir [Xosa] of South Africa (No. 41, p. 36; No. 19, p. 354). The idea of divine punishment, purification, and expiatory transmigration of souls which missionaries in particular read into this transfer of human souls into animals was certainly foreign to the Barundi originally. The fundamental notion of such a "transmigration of souls" is rather the totemic affinity of a human kin group with a particular animal species (see p. 102). The Barundi are, however, in the least disturbed by the internal contradiction contained in these notions, namely, the fact that the animal, tree, rock, stream, etc., which is occupied by the soul of the deceased person, would then have to have two souls. The logic of Negroes is different from that of Europeans.

The question of the immortality of the soul, which, of course, is strongly emphasized in the teachings of the Christian missionaries, leaves the non-Christianized Murundi as cold as all other East African Negroes. His imagination and ethical needs are [119] satisfied by assuming that the soul survives death. He is not further concerned about how long this survival lasts. Perhaps he thinks, as most other African natives do, that souls do not live on for eternity but that they gradually become weaker and smaller and finally disappear entirely (No. 41, p. 41) or that after the soul has entered an animal its life will be extinguished with that of the animal.

775 The spirits of the dead are, without exception, more or less evil and hostile to the living even if they were relatively good-natured when they were still alive. The dead person was forced to leave behind everything that he loved and cherished in his life, and for this reason he is filled with envy for those who survive and possess all these things. These jealous spirits, hostile to men and causing sickness, ruined crops, cattle epidemics, and other misfortunes, are the dreaded abasimu or imisimu (sing., umusimu); to repel, confine, appease them, or to win their favor forms the largest part of the thoughts and acts which occupy a Barundi's mind in his daily life. We find these primitive evil spirits among all the Bahima under the same name, abasimu or imisimu, even in the southern area of settlement, in Ufipa (No. 47, pp. 167-168). The envy and
775 hostility of the abasimu are soothed and assuaged by placing
782 valuable objects belonging to the deceased on his grave. Also, as often as possible morsels of food and parts of the objects formerly belonging to the deceased and now in use are offered as a sacrifice (see p.136). The incorporeal spirit eats or uses only the incorporeal part of these sacrifices, i.e., the "essence" of the proffered beer, meat, millet gruel, jugs, knives, arrows, hoes, etc. The sacrificial offerings are nothing but a premium to obtain greater security against the hostility of the abasimu. By no means can they be regarded as pious offerings to the revered and beloved ancestors. The Murundi only offers sacrifices to the manes because he is afraid of them. Yet a more effective method than making sacrifices is joining a
775 religious secret society, the religious fraternity of the ababandwa
794 of which we shall speak in greater detail below (p. 124). These ababandwa assume a privileged position in the realm of the spirits after their death. If their behavior within the society has been found correct, they come to Riangombe where, as imandwa, they form a kind of bodyguard of the god. They are, so to speak, the saints of the Barundi heaven.

776 Above the innumerable nameless abasimu and above the imandwa there is a stratum of higher spirits who are given names.

778 Usige, these little huts are constructed so as to have two en-
346 trances, the pot inside has two spouts, the ritual tobacco pipe
[782] has two bowls; all this is probably because they are supposed to serve both the spirit of the ancestor and his wife (see Fig. 11). Van der Burgt interprets this custom as being related to the supposed bisexuality of the manes (No. 19, p. 564), yet I could not find any proof of this.

[769] The Murundi is rarely satisfied with only one ikigabiro; usually there are three or four of them dedicated to the spirits of the three or four deceased family members who were closest to him. At one time I actually counted no less than eight such sacrificial huts in one kraal.

778 The huts are consecrated by the kiranga performing the
782 ceremony of the sacred spear. While the ceremony is in
796 progress, the family members eat several kinds of food next
769 to the little "votive chapel." This is done in honor of the ancestor to whom the hut is dedicated. They deposit a small amount of each dish and a little beer in the ikigabiro. Later this offering will be repeated each time that the ceremony of the sacred spear is celebrated for some reason or other by the family concerned. Not only millet gruel and pombe beer are offered; among prosperous families the sacrifice also includes the meat of chickens, goats, rams, and even beef.

769 According to the belief of the Barundi, the ancestral
782 spirit either chooses to make the hut erected in his honor his
778 permanent residence or at least he uses it as his temporary
● 775 quarters in which case he will then appear as a ghost in the neighborhood. The Murundi believe that the food offerings are eaten by the spirit when in reality they have been eaten by dogs, rats, or birds. If the food remains untouched, the Murundi finds comfort in the thought that the incorporeal spirit has enjoyed only the incorporeal parts of the food, beer, and tobacco.

778 According to van der Burgt, there exists, in addition to
769 the two cult sites mentioned above, a third type which, however,
825 appears to be extremely rare. These are closed huts, two to
775 three meters high, found in the neighborhood of the sacred groves close to the old royal kraals. The one seen by van der

778 Burgt was dedicated to the manes of King Ntare (No. 19,
769 p. 565) and allegedly was the residence of a large python which
825 was the receptacle of the spirit of the dead king. The snake
775 was protected and fed by its special guards. In Ruanda and Kisiba I personally heard of such official sacred monuments. They also were inhabited by a large snake which was regarded as the vehicle of the king's soul and which was regularly fed with milk by the priest. (Cf. also No. 31, pp. 107, 130.) [137] As a rule, however, no such consecrated huts are found in the sacred groves.

778 The sacred grove (imana, iteka, intatemwa) as such is regarded as an object of deepest devotion by the Murundi (No. 19, p. 77). There are no woods in most of Urundi, and hardly any trees exist in Ruanda. Consequently, the small groups of tall fig trees towering above the ridges of hills here and there are a very characteristic feature of the scenery (Plate 29a). Everywhere they indicate the site where at one time stood the residence, the kraal (lugo, urugo), of a king or chief and where the former master himself is probably buried. After the death of the owner, his homestead is abandoned; the huts fall to pieces, and only the fig trees that formed the fence of the kraal continue to grow unhindered; from that time on, nobody may
[784] touch them or even cut them down. Like the onetime place of residence, these trees are regarded as sinister and sacred (imana, taboo). It is not simply pious feeling for the deceased which protects these trees of his former dwelling, for such gentle feelings are unknown to the Murundi. It is rather fear of the wrath of the spirits of the dead from whose graves the trees may have grown. This sentiment prevents the people from using the
[825] trees for much needed fuel. All kinds of animals live in the thicket,
[775] among them the snake which the spirit of the deceased has chosen as his new residence. Sometimes the priest of the district offers a sacrifice to the spirit by depositing food and milk for the snake.

532 The Barundi do not have any reproductions of their spirits,
776 demons and gods in the form of sculptured or carved figures or as drawings. This should not be regarded as proof of their lack

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

according to the image of the *Mwami*, and thus when some misfortune occurs, the blame is put on another name of God or on the ghosts or sorcerers.

The beneficent action of *Imana* is general and remote. *Imana* is the source of all gifts, but he does not interfere very much in individual lives unless he is invoked. He is not the vigilant deity whom no single detail of the lives of his creatures can escape and who, when he acts, takes into account all the antecedents of the situation. There is a story of a man who borrowed beans from different people. When repayment of the loans was demanded, he was always able by his wits to avoid fulfilling his obligations. One creditor—Death—insists on being paid and pursues him. The debtor, when fleeing, calls upon *Imana* who saves him.

Imana—as is illustrated by this tale—is not the guardian of ethics and social order. He is not offended when somebody is robbed, but only if the offence is directed against himself, as when somebody disobeys a particular order of his or abuses his name. Then he punishes the offender by sending him misfortunes during his earthly life.

The Spirits of the Dead

The spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), with whom *Imana* has no closer relationships than he has with living people, constitute the second category of non-material beings. They continue the individuality of living persons and have the same names. It is usual to say: 'when he will be a *muzimu*. . . .' Though non-material, they are localized by their activity, in contrast to *Imana* who, having a much wider range of action, cannot be so precisely localized. They live in the lower world whose ruler is *Nyamuzinda* ('the one with whom one is forgotten'). Banyarwanda have not elaborated a very detailed picture of post-mortem existence. Although, according to some informants, the deceased kings of Ruanda constitute a kind of governing body in the underworld, there are no social distinctions. Life is neither pleasant nor unhappy. The *bazimu* do not drink, eat, or mate but their existence in other respects is similar to that in the world of the living. The *bazimu* sometimes come back to this world, returning to the places where they used to live. An ancestor and some other spirits may stay permanently in the hut where their descendants live or in the small huts made for them in the enclosure around the dwelling.

Whatever their temper when they were in this world, the *bazimu* are bad. Direct ancestors in both lines (although the system of descent is patrilineal) are believed to protect their living descendants, if they showed them proper filial behaviour when they were in this world, if they observe prohibitions and avoidances and if they do not forget to make offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to one's patrilineage (*mulyango*) are always harmful. The *bazimu* of other families are less detrimental except where there are feuds between the families. Ghosts are thus essentially malevolent towards the living. At best they are not actively injurious.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

In order not to irritate the dead various observances and interdicts must be complied with. The 'cult' of the *bazimu* is accordingly aimed at appeasing them. They are frequently offered a few drops of milk or hydromel. Sometimes they require the immolation of a goat or even a bull. A girl spends some time in the small hut dedicated to a *muzimu* in order that he may enjoy having a woman. Other practices are, however, more difficult to interpret. Water may be given to the *muzumu* while at the same time he is told very loudly that it is milk. The explanation given by most informants is that *bazimu* are rather stupid and that these mock offerings are not given to the direct ancestors, who are respected, but only to collaterals who, as *bazimu*, are hated. However, it is not very clear how one can at the same time fear the powerful *bazimu* and deceive them so grossly.

Among the *bazimu*, a small group, *Ryangombe* and his *imandwa*, is particularly powerful and important. *Ryangombe* is said to have been the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. In order not to leave *Ryangombe*, his friends threw themselves on the bull's horns. *Imana* gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they have a notably more agreeable life than the other *bazimu*. To have the privilege of joining them there, Banyarwanda have to be initiated into the sect (*kubandwa*). The members of the sect believe that non-initiates go after death into an active volcano, the Nyiragongo, where they suffer torments of fire. We have here an interesting instance of conflicting ideologies in a non-literate society: the common belief that all *bazimu* reside in the underworld and the belief of initiates, who are extremely numerous, in a mildly paradisal life for themselves and a hell for other people. During their earthly sojourn the initiates have other advantages, for the powerful *imandwa* do not harm them and indeed protect them from the injurious activities of other spirits.

The relations between *Ryangombe* and *Imana* seem to be conceived as those between a client (*mugaragu*) and his patron (*shebuja*), persons who are linked by that typical Ruanda institution called *buhake*, in which a man in an inferior situation in the scale of wealth and social power asks another to grant him his protection and the possession of some cows; in return the client becomes his patron's man and owes him various services. *Ryangombe* is believed to be protected by *Imana* and to act more or less as his intermediary with regard to the initiates. But *Imana* is not present in *Ryangombe's* paradise. The cult of *Ryangombe* has importance as a force of social cohesion. Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa may all be initiated. This function is quite overtly stressed: *Ryangombe* has said himself that he should be called upon by everybody.

Diviners and Sorcerers

Two categories of men have special relations with the invisible world: diviners (*bapfumu*) and sorcerers (*barozi*). The former are interpreters of *Imana's* will, which they can discern in the figures made by knuckle-bones,

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mužimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

who steal cattle, or set fire to huts, or commit adultery are punished by the political or family authorities. Social sanctions are not only physically enforced penalties, such as corporal punishment and compensations, but also the unorganized reactions of the people who know the delinquent: kin, neighbours, clients, and lord. For the Batutsi, for whom reputation stands high in the scale of values, this is extremely important. According to our informants, the fear of being considered a man without loyalty or without dignity, the dread of being despised by one's family, prevent many breaches of rules. To use Kluckhohn's terminology, we may say that Ruanda's is a shame-culture. But it is also a guilt-culture. When a Munyarwanda has transgressed some rule so secretly that there is not the slightest chance of his being found out and incurring punishment and shame, he nevertheless feels guilty and knows, our informants told us, that his action is bad. When a child has disobeyed his father without the latter's knowledge, he thinks not only of the unpleasant consequences that the discovery of his misbehaviour might produce but also (and some informants say 'mainly') of the wickedness of the act itself. The Ruanda word for conscience, *kamera*, means something that is internally felt. It is situated in the heart.

That the Banyarwanda have a 'conscience' will not be rated as a great discovery by some. But since some recent studies, such as Kluckhohn's on the Navaho, have stressed the fact that, in some cultures, submission to rules seems to be realized almost entirely through a rational concern to avoid punishment or shame, it does not seem superfluous to consider how far observance of rules is, or is not, linked to ethical principles and feelings of guilt.

Let us now attempt to indicate more precisely how moral wrong is conceived in the Ruanda culture. As has been already mentioned, *Imana* is not the guardian of the moral order. Sometimes he seems to be regarded as its author in the sense that he might have decided that men should not steal; but it is clear that when a man steals another man's cows, *Imana* is not personally offended. Those who are offended are those who have been wronged by the action, or those who had issued an order which has been disobeyed. When *Imana* has not been directly injured (as by blasphemies), or when the injury done to another has not been specifically forbidden by him, he is not thought to be offended. The victim could, however, ask *Imana* to punish the wrongdoer and if he then became ill, it would be said that *Imana* had punished him.

The other agencies of the supernatural world have even slighter relations with ethical values. The *bazimu* are naturally malevolent and punish only those actions which they take to be directed against themselves. A way to honour the spirit of somebody who had been a thief during his life was to simulate a robbery. *Ryangombe* and his fellows were not models of morality during their earthly existence and they did not care about the ethics of their followers. Nor was there any punishment after death. For those who believe that there are two kinds of life after death—happy or unhappy—the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

qualification for the happy one is not to live a blameless life on earth, but to undergo initiation into the *Ryangombe* cult.

Thus the ethics of the Banyarwanda are not integrated on a religious basis such as the will of God. What is the principle of integration, or rather, we should first ask, are their ethical conceptions integrated? On the surface they consist, like any moral code, of a multiplicity of prohibitions, orders, and exhortations. Have they achieved a synthesis of these separate elements by reducing the multiplicity to one or a few principles? Or, what amounts to the same thing, could they give a definition of good and evil?

In Ruanda a great number of particular rules are subsumed under general principles such as: do not do what is harmful to people of your group or of your country; do what people related to you would like; submit to your superiors. Principles such as these are already on a higher level of abstraction than the particular rules. When informants are asked to account for a given rule or principle they give as the final justification: 'It has always been done that way in Ruanda.' We may perhaps express the Ruanda definition of good and evil in these terms: That is good (or evil) which tradition has defined as good (or evil).

Tradition is indeed a powerful force in cultures which, as in Ruanda, have been isolated for centuries from world currents. Each generation is more conscious of the importance of what it has received from the preceding one than is possible when much of what constitutes its way of life comes not from its ancestors but from some other social tradition. Moreover, their relations with their neighbours whom they frequently subjugated have persuaded Banyarwanda of the excellence of the ways of life transmitted by their forefathers. In such a situation the traditional character of a rule appears to be sufficient justification. If the ancestors, who were so wise, behaved in that way it would be preposterous to question it.

But it would be misleading to picture the Banyarwanda as following blindly the moral rules framed in a remote past without having any idea of their purpose. Some old men have a clear understanding of the social significance of certain rules. They explained, for example, that the duality of the rules concerning adultery committed by the husband or by the wife was accounted for by the importance of the wife's function in procreation. She has thus a greater responsibility than the husband for maintaining the integrity of the family.

Does this kind of thinking extend so far as independence of tradition? Some informants told us that, apart from the authority of custom, some actions were thought of as dishonourable in themselves. But these informants were Christians and, apparently, very much influenced by their religion. Moreover, they could not quote a clear case of conflict between tradition and ethics.

No moral code can achieve an absolute character in all its precepts. Prohibitions and commands frequently relate only to certain categories of persons and situations. Even the Christian Western ethic, which realizes to

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

285 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 776 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much preoccupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 775 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove," which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1. 50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [775] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

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[609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

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791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

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[775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the transformation into an animal? The members of royal families [765] of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Boisle-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

614 784 Nevertheless, the individual's freedom of action with regard to his umuziru is limited. For this reason one is closer to the actual meaning of the word when one translates it as "prohibition."

I was told that the following were abaziru: mammals, the various parts of their bodies, birds, fish, grasshoppers, the milk of particular cows, and inanimate objects, such as an empty basket, for example, but not plants, with the exception of a blade of straw.

784 715 614 [241] The meaning of abaziru involves the vague idea that after death everyone takes the form of an umuziru. For example, they believe that the clansmen of the ruler of Kiziba turn into snakes, the family of the kings of Ruanda into leopards, and various Azande clans into all kinds of animals.

I had no opportunity to find out the derivation of abaziru, not even in cases where the transformation into animals after death was positively maintained. Thus, we can hardly link the various prohibitions with remnants of these ideas.

784 614 On the other hand, I learned about traditions which make it seem likely that the prohibitions arose from experiences of clan members or their protoplasts. Thus, in Kifumbiro I was told that one of the clans there (the Abazirambogo) does not eat buffalo meat because one of its ancestors was killed on a buffalo hunt many, many years ago.

The prohibition on wearing the skin of the inganda, antelope, shows how the taboos of a single clan spread to larger groups, even to a whole country. Inganda is an umuziru of the Basindi clan. Its members were not permitted to hunt the animal, eat its meat, or use its skin for clothing. Two wives of a king of Ruanda once quarreled over this beautiful skin, and one stabbed the other with a knife. Thereupon the wise king, in order to eliminate discord from the world once and for all, declared the animal to be an umuziru for the entire country. This has also been the case with dogs, monkeys, and birds.

The Banyaruanda, who generally like to dismiss a questioner with the phrase, "our fathers did it this way," cite traditions about the origin of their taboos, and this we can regard as an argument in favor of the view that the taboos developed along with clan organization.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

695 referred to simply as kushoko, "drinking." This fact indicates that the poison test was the oldest form. To give a person this test is called kushora which simply means "to give a drink." Thus they say: "Umututsi ashora inka ze (the Mututsi gives his cows a drink)," as well as "kushora ikihango (to drink poison)" and "kushora (literally, to drink a chicken)."

[286] Chapter 14

History and Chronology

173 Ruanda. I had great difficulty in obtaining data about the history of Ruanda. Oral tradition in the interlacustrine region is limited chiefly to the genealogy of the rulers. This basic skeleton is also generally supplemented by a few statements about the chief events of the corresponding epochs. My informants, however, knew little about the history of the dynasty, since most of them were Bahutu.

124 Musinga gave Captain W. Von Grawert, who introduced me to him, his royal promise that he would have reports made to me on the history of the country or even tell me about it himself.
[287] The chicken oracle, however, said that the king would suffer harm if I were initiated in the history of the country. The next time I visited Musinga and tried to have certain contradictions in my notes on the Ruanda rulers cleared up by this authoritative source, I was kept dangling for two and a half hours and was unsuccessful. His Black Majesty was very pleasant, but during the whole time he kept practicing, in German, the meaningless sentence, "Little spear is pretty."

Musinga wanted to please me by demonstrating his zeal in learning the German language and in this way divert my attention from interviewing him.

173 It seems that in Ruanda as well as In Nkole one may not speak
[715] about deceased kings with the uninitiated, for the spirits, dis-
[52] turbed in their rest, might avenge themselves. However, people talk about olden times in the evening when the nobility gather with the king, pay court to him, and drink beer. They know

769 The bazimu, the spirits of the dead, are feared. They are not good. They are responsible for the misfortunes and torments that plague one. In Mulera, at any rate, this may be related to the well-known unfortunate position of old men.

Every father of a family offers sacrifices to his ancestors and his deceased relatives in the ndaro, the small grass huts near his compound and the place where the spirits dwell. Ndaro means "sleeping place," "resting place," and, according to Father Buisson, is derived from the verb kurara "to sleep." I should like to point out, however, the similarity between this word and ndako which in the Bangala and Ababua [Babua] dialects simply means "house." Sacrifices are also made in the sacred niche of every hut.

782 769 For sacrifices to the manes, a fire is built in front of the huts and around it sticks are placed in the ground, to which are fastened small bits of meat, lumps of umutsima, etc. Small vessels (imperezo) of beer are also set out. These offerings are taken from the meat and umutsima (stiff millet mush) which the sacrificer brought with him. The rest he eats himself.

[299] Offerings are also placed inside the huts. Frequently the more valuable offerings are only temporarily exposed. Later they are eaten by the family of the sacrificer. This is said to be the case when, in accordance with custom, the foreleg of a slain animal is offered for a deceased girl. This is not always true, however, for I repeatedly saw rotting forelegs of goats hanging in the ndaro. "To offer to the spirits" is called kutonora bazimu. To the spirits of one's parents the ribs and entrails of slain animals are usually offered.

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Fig. 162. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. III E13096. 8 centimeters high.)

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Underworld. Not all the spirits of the dead remain in the vicinity of their ndaro to be taken care of by their families and to lead a peaceful existence. Many spirits, after death, live in the volcanoes, and the activity of these fire mountains is connected with them.

According to the Balera, Ryangombe is said to live in Muhawura with the souls of those who were dedicated to him in life. They constitute his court and his retinue.

At the court of Ryangombe there are not infrequently angry disputes among his retinue. Then they usually throw stones, and

T75 S23 sometimes large quantities of these reach the outside world. I repeatedly heard this explanation of volcanic activity. It sometimes happens, however, that Ryangombe drives spirits into the outer world as a punishment. Then they torment the living, who must make sacrifices so that Ryangombe will take the spirits back and thus free the living from molestation by these homeless.

[103] People from the region of Bobandana, whom I met on the way to Rutshuru, called Mount Nyiragongo Kilima ya Mungu, "Mountain of the Gods."

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) also says that Ryangombe allegedly

1. Parisch, F.R.Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902-1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902-03]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

lived in Muhawura with his court which consists of the souls of the babandwa dedicated to him. Only the souls of the nsigo, that is, the profane and those initiated into other cults, go to Nyiragongo after death. However, he concedes that, according to other accounts, Ryangombe lives in Nyiragongo.

The volcanoes play a very important role in the supernatural world of Ruanda. Captain Von Beringe (2) mentions that the birunga

2. Beringe, Captain Von, a report on his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, pp. 36, 37.

(plural of kirunga, "volcano") are named after the spirits which are said to live in them, such as Sabinio, Karisimbi, Mikeno, Nyamlagira, and Gonga. The last is the oldest among them. Formerly Nyamlagira, who was later exiled, was said to have lived with him. The later event is perhaps an allusion to the recent origin of the youngest volcano in this group.

[532] [300] Memorial Trees. There are no pictorial representations of the dead in Ruanda. I saw no sculpture or wood carvings that referred to them.

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There are trees, however, that are associated with remembrance of the dead. These trees were planted either by them or in connection with them, usually in the settlements. Thus, at the birth of a child a fig tree is planted, which is later associated with the person, even after his death. It seems that in these trees, as on the hedges of abandoned settlements, spirits of the dead abide.

778 824 211

Trees are also planted in memory of historical events. Thus, Dr. Kandt (1) says: "At the end of the bridge (cliff bridge of the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 365.

Ruzizi) there is still standing a young fig tree, an immana, a soul tree, which was planted by Luabugiri, the former king of Ruanda, when he set out to fight against Bunjabungu which is on the right bank. There is a steep, almost perpendicular path of a few hundred meters, down which he and his warriors set out to their destruction. On the tree hang straw and metal rings, the offerings of pious wanderers, and on the bridge people point out the footprint of the king's favorite dog in the cliff and tell a legend similar to the one about the Rosstrappe [Tr., a rock in the Harz Mountains]."

With reference to another type of memorial tree which is only indirectly connected with historical personages, Dr. Kandt (2)

2. Ibid., p. 504.

says: "They (trees on the eastern point of the lake) are sacred because King Luabugiri camped on this spot when he set out on his campaign against Bunjabungu (1894), from which he returned to Ruanda a dying man.... The boat that carried the ruler into the war is still lying under the trees, half buried in the ground. It was hollowed out from a giant tree of the primeval forest, but now it is split down the middle, partly rotted, and disintegrating more and more each year. As I remember, it is about 18 meters long and one and a quarter meters wide."

The memorial trees looming up on the heights are very characteristic of the Ruanda landscape. They are conspicuous because they form such a contrast to the bare hilltops. Their

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
775 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

787 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

7:Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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be consummated until he had gone. The rest of the bride's party left on the second day, after receiving presents. 585

A son-in-law did not fear his wife's parents, but was regarded and treated by them as a son. [606]

A man might marry as many as five wives, but he brought only one of them to live in his own village; for the others he built houses in their villages and visited them there. If he was wealthy, which was usually the condition of a man who married more than one wife, he gave each of them cows to supply her with milk, a man to herd them, men to dig her field, and also maids to wait upon her and work in her field. 595 [556]

A wife was usually restricted to her husband in sexual intercourse, but when a great friend of the husband paid him a visit he might permit him to live with one of his wives who acted as the visitor's wife for the time. It was, however, more usual for a guest to go to another house with his own wife, or for the host and his wife to sleep on a mat on the floor and leave the bed to the guest and his wife. 837

Illness and Death

When a man fell ill, his wife informed his relatives and a medicine-man was summoned to discover by augury whether magic was being used or whether the illness was the work of some ghost. If magic was found to be the cause of the illness, the name of the person using it had also to be discovered by augury, and he was accused and brought before the king or some chief to be tried. Invariably a man who had been discovered by augury to be guilty was condemned without question; he might appeal to the poison ordeal, but he had very little chance of escape, and was always put to death. If the augury showed the illness to be due to a ghost, a bull was offered to the ghost and it was begged to stop troubling the man. 754 [787] 695 683 [775] [782]

Before a man died he generally named his heir, who was usually one of his sons, though not necessarily so and not always the eldest son. If a man died without having named 428 [763]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Twa, as people living an active and dangerous life, and regarded as almost sub-human, had little to fear except being deprived of food by their master's whim.

All these dangers were real enough and no behaviour could ensure complete immunity. But most people appear to have felt that with some skill and right conduct they were avoidable and consequently did not constitute oppressive threats. Frustrations entailed by starvation and Tutsi requirements were regarded in pre-European days as part of an immutable natural and social order. Ruanda men and women were not inclined to speculate on the impossible, and any order of things other than that they knew belonged definitely for them to the sphere of the impossible. We shall see later on that a deep belief in the fundamental inequality of men had pervaded the ethos of the whole society, and had helped a great deal in the acceptance of frustrating conditions. Consequently these have not led to the usual feeling of aggressiveness or resentment.

Let us now turn to the invisible world as the Ruanda conceived it.[32] Although it was dominated by Imana, a god essentially powerful and good, it was a disquietening world. Indeed the spirits of the dead (*bazimu*), whatever their temper when they were in this world, were thought of as bad. The direct ascendants of the father's and mother's lines were usually protective if their living descendants had observed the proper filial behaviour, if they had not neglected prohibitions and avoidances, and if they had not forgotten offerings. But all other *bazimu* belonging to the same patrilineage were always harmful. *Bazimu* of other lineages were less dangerous unless there were feuds between the particular kin groups concerned. Among the spirits of the dead, a small clique, called the *imandwa*, was particularly powerful and might be helpful to those who had been initiated into the sect of Ryangombe, their chief.[33] Apart from these exceptions, ghosts were essentially malevolent towards living people. At best they did not harm. Of the two categories of men who had special relations with the invisible world, diviners and sorcerers, the latter were definitely considered to be criminals who either used poison (or other deadly substances as for instance when they mixed in food a powder made from the lungs of a person who had died from tuberculosis), or magical

[32] Maquet, 1958, pp. 526-30; Pauwels, 1958.
[33] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

means (sending a *muzimu* to strangle somebody, acting through lightning or an animal, or using spells).[34]

What was the impact of this frightening world on the everyday life of Ruanda people? It seems that it was not ever-present in their daily lives. The Ruanda considered that most of the events in the human sphere as well as in the material world may be understood without reference to the action of the supernatural world. Some antecedent events or acts were considered as natural causes of the consequent ones. To get a cold at the beginning of the dry or rainy season was considered due to the change of weather. It was known that yaws could be got by contagion. Even death was very often interpreted without any magical explanation. It was expected for instance that people would die because of old age. When beans were sown on poor soil, a bad crop would not mean that the field had been bewitched. Thus when recurrences had been observed or when 'causes' had been discovered in the sphere of physical or human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following their causes were considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events appeared inexplicable in terms of these natural antecedents or causes, or were attended by some peculiar circumstances, intervention of spirits or sorcerers were suspected and a diviner was consulted. If somebody had tuberculosis and no one among his ascendants or the people with whom he lived had suffered from that disease, it was thought that the cause was a sorcerer. If somebody died from an illness usually considered 'natural', but his death occurred a few days after a theft of which he was the supposed culprit, he was said to have been magically striken at the request of the robbed person.

Even as regards his own death, the individual Ruanda seems to have taken a rather 'secular' view. All our informants agree that to die meant almost exclusively simply to quit life. They believed that they would become *bazimu*, but this left them rather indifferent. To abandon children, cows, fields, and friends was sad for people. But it was accepted without dramatization, as one of those facts which were in the normal order of things.

To sum up, freedom from want, frustrations, and objective fears was far from being achieved in Ruanda. Moreover, supernatural

[34] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 302 f.; Arnoux, 1912-13; Pauwels, 1949b; Bourgeois, 1956.